/229 cont./

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Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

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Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he began to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argentinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

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/230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá: Once he arranged a dance festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/233 cont./

796 [237] [533] disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a

[342] [291] [535] [514] [516]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 796 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[778] [784] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

/34 cont./

• 342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large [192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/; [192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. ouvões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious [824] chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth, 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven [178] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle- [824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields 178 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction. [177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/38 cont./

341 From the architectural point of view, there are two essen-
342 tial characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast
199 to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separa-
tion or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the
absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the cover-
[192] ing is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

342 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional
177 technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost
178 all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and re-
[596] ligious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the conjunction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate community of life, with economic, religious, and political interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see, the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the replacement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more
[535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the traditional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

2: Schaden--37 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/35 cont./

• 342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perô. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/36 cont./

342 345 [123] [552] house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 [184] Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and window. The walls (horá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/, of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoí), which rests on small beams made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

[192] [824] [317] [192] [824] [184] [413]

178 197 439 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

2: Schaden--75 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

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VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fiber.

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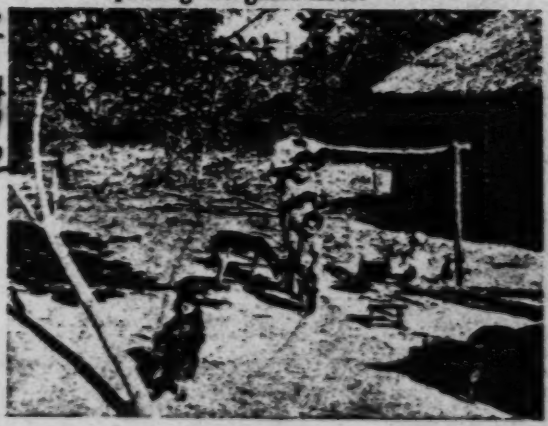

VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

2: Schaden--76 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová
Ñandéva

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VIII. Kayová-Guaraní great-house of traditional type, village of Panambi, Mato Grosso.

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IX. Ñandéva-Guaraní house in Jacareí, Mato Grosso, with dance area and chicha tub.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[10] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
• [342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[11] *mate* trees, which the Cayuá
[417] also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[267] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capiuara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguareté*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *araponga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[10] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[11] One of these canes, the *tayuapi* (*cana de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village
[103] studied.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapúi*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapúi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapúi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

The furniture of the *tapúi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue.

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú*' (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[a] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[a]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[a] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[a] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

#174 596 • 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole #174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognised community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit #174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component #174 596 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cauí* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, #174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130-131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[38]

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

[38] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

3: Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and machetes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively, an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern housebuilding. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board" made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapái*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85).

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases.

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbarahá*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance.

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbohói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men.

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE PRESENT BASIC PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION UNIT OF SOCIETY

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first.

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[119] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production.

The *tapái* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapái*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapái* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household.

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puširão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãuí* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire-

[119] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapúi*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapúi*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*tádo*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapúi*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapúi*. Modern walls are usually made of 6" to 8"-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapúi* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapúi* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapúi*, the old *tapúi* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapúi* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

Technologically *tapúi* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

[140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapéi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapéi*. In other words, building a *tapéi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[142] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production.

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144]

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a

[142] The existing *tapéi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapéi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses.

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to represent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural produce.[16] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[16] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *kapái* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually.

In the *changa* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *changa* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *changa* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[183]

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *kokwé*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[184]

[183] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analysed.

[184] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations*, *sentiments*, and *interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment,

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

[P.145]

342 351 415

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

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FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapúi* at Taquapirí. Log tanks for *cáuí'* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cáuí'* cooking in iron pots on fire.

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FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbuʃirão*) clearing a *kokwé* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

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FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapúi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

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FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 146]

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FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*sarakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

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FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjaké*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

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3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

FIG. 11. Women masticating boiled, pounded corn for *cẽwĩ'*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Woman straining small log tank batch of chicha (*cẽwĩ'*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayuá woven strainer.

FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a *sibu/irõ*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *sibu/irõ* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) at dance that lasted until noon the following day because *cẽwĩ'* lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which *cẽwĩ'* is fermented for village-wide drinking fests. Right-hand tank about 25 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[342] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[596] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by,
[594] and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

Caingué do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paï*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

Household furniture.—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

Ce 178 439 323 [177] /331 cont./ The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 179 178 342 596 Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C 17 Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175 The Chiriguano belong to the Tupí-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167] They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.